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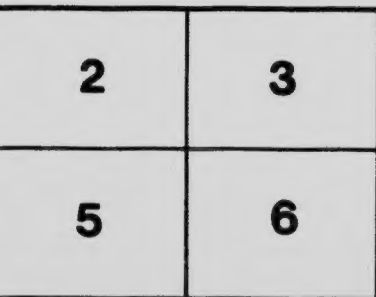
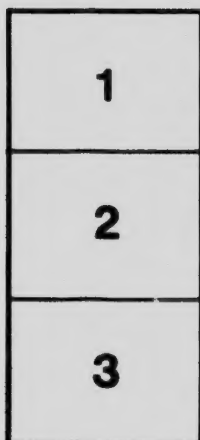
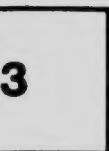
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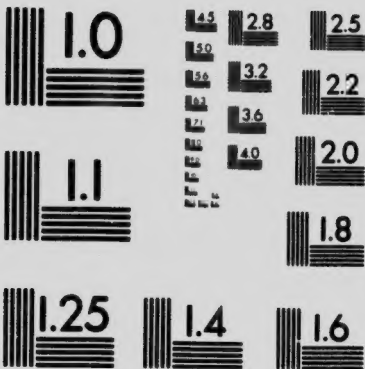
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CONFIDENTIAL LETTER TO

LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION

ONTARIO LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION,

No. 5 King Street West,

Toronto, May 1st 1902.

The reports from all over the Province, which have been received at the office, are so encouraging as to warrant us in saying that it is almost an absolute certainty that the Ross Administration will be overwhelmingly defeated, unless they shall again succeed in thwarting the will of the people by a resort to the threshing-machine methods, so freely employed by them at the last general election and at the bye-elections which followed. Our candidates are receiving assurances of support from many who have until now been identified with our Liberal party. In many cases these gentlemen say that they do not intend to permanently abandon their party, but are convinced that, in the interest of political decency and for the purpose of discouraging election crookedness, even if it cannot at once be wholly put an end to, it is necessary that the present leaders of their party shall be defeated. These defections from our opponents, combined with the fact that our party was never so united and enthusiastic, nor so thoroughly organized, as now, give a splendid assurance of victory; particularly so when we remember that the returns of the last general election showed that, even four years ago, we actually polled a majority of the electoral vote, while the disclosures made in the courts make it clear that the Opposition, and not the Government, carried a majority of the constituencies. So evident was this to the members of the Government that they determined to attempt a gerrymander of the constituencies, and passed their iniquitous Extension Act in order to secure time for this purpose. Only the determined attitude of Mr. Whitney and the other members of the Opposition, and an intimation from a source they could not ignore that their Extension Act was unconstitutional, prevented the Government from carrying out their intention.

Undoubtedly, the Government are aware of the political situation in the Province and of the desperate nature of their case, and it would be folly for Conservatives to close their eyes to the fact that we are face to face with desperate and unscrupulous men, who will fight with all the energy of desperation. We must expect that they, even more than four years ago, will be forced to resort to the use of the criminal methods of the Threshing Machine.

seat, and the exposure which they fear even more than loss of power. They contemplate attempting some of the schemes put in operation four or five years ago, or others of a similar nature, in the hope that they may get into almost all the constituency corps and get officers from the central office in this city. In one riding alone, North York, there are not less than seven of these agents of the machine at work at the present moment, with all the members of the Threshing Machine who secured four years ago and are engaged throughout the Province, except the West, to receive a fat salary from the Dominion Government, and a few more who have just returned to the Province. Vance, O'Gorman, Lewis, Brant, Sullivan, Finlay, Malloy, and others who achieved notoriety in West Elgin and elsewhere, have been seen in several constituencies, and it is evident that Conservative must be everywhere on their guard to prevent the successful working of the schemes by which we were cheated out of a well-earned victory four years ago. It is not probable that all the tricks and schemes known to the ingenious gentlemen of the machine have been discovered, but the disclosures made in the courts have revealed the nature of some of them, and the object of this letter is to put you upon your guard and to suggest how you may meet these. With this object in view, we take the liberty of calling your attention to the following:—

PERSONATING DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICERS

The Election Act provides that Deputy Returning Officers shall be residents of the Polling Sub-division in which they act. This makes it impossible for a Liberal machine to legally get their regular trained men appointed, and it must not be forgotten that in a number of instances these trained men have personated the regularly appointed D. R. O.'s, and this may be again attempted. The following instances of such personation may be cited:—

Albert Cahill personated Albert E. Montgomery, who had been appointed D. R. O. for Polling Sub-division No. 11, St. Thomas, in the notorious West Elgin election. He acted as Montgomery all day, forging his name and taking away from that he was Montgomery, D. A. McIntyre, a nephew of the Liberal candidate, McNish, drawing the D. R. O.'s pay from the R. O. on Cahill's forged order.

J. G. Pritchett personated M. B. Johnson at Polling Sub-division No. 6, Township of Southwold, in the same election, forging Johnson's name and perjuring himself by swearing that he was Johnson. That Pritchett acted with the full knowledge of the Liberal candidate and that the R. O., when he gave him the ballots and poll-book, knew that he was not the person he pretended to be, was made clear by the attendant circumstances. Pritchett "switched" at least 34 ballots on this occasion.

At No. 4 Polling Sub-division, St. Thomas, in the same election, some person whose identity has not even yet been discovered, personated Christopher Stratford, forging his name and committing perjury. A singular circumstance, which has not been explained by Sheriff Brown, the R. O., is that Stratford, who had been appointed D. R. O., was never informed of his appointment, and was not even aware that the election was being held. In fact, too, the D. R. O.'s fees were collected by McIntyre, the nephew of the Liberal candidate.

The case of Edward D. Croshaw, who acted as D. R. O. at Polling Sub-division No. 7, St. Thomas, in the West Elgin election, is also not mentioned. He was introduced to the R. O. by the Liberal candidate, Mr. McTavish, as a resident of St. Thomas, though he really is of London. He was provided with a letter signed by the Liberal candidate, addressed by him to the R. O., asking the latter to appoint him D. R. O. Though irregularly and fraudulently appointed, he acted under the name of the Liberal candidate's nephew also collected his fees from the voters.

In the case of the notorious Duncan Bole, who acted as D. R. O. at Polling Sub-division No. 1, Southwold, in the West Elgin election, is also a disqualification from the others. He acted entirely without authority. He obtained the ballot-box, etc., from the regularly appointed D. R. O., presenting a letter written by Andrew G. Galt, the confidential agent of Mr. McNish, and signed by the latter. Bole wrote no less than 19 ballots. Bole was arrested, but, by the connivance and assistance of agents of the Government, he was permitted to escape.

In six subdivisions in West Elgin, where the agents of the Liberal machine are known to have operated, 235 ballots in all were switched or spoiled. Liberal Conservative scrutineers must be on their guard to prevent the substitution of agents of the machine for the resident D. R. O's, whom the Returning Officer must appoint.

TRAINED LOCAL CHOOKS.

The change in the law which requires the D. R. O. to appoint as his deputies residents of the constituency, though it lessens the risk of having trained male not switchers, act as D. R. O's, by no means removes the danger entirely. The deputies who switched and spoiled ballots in North Waterloo, West Huron, South Ontario, and Brockville were all local men. They were trained by men in the employ of the Liberal leaders, and, in two instances, at any rate, the men who trained them were sent into the riding by members of the Government, Hon. J. M. Gibson and Hon. E. J. Davis. It is unfortunate that men who are appointed to act as Deputy Returning Officers, who have sworn to faithfully perform their duty, and who have hitherto borne good reputations among their neighbours, must be watched and suspected; but, however regrettable this may be, Conservative scrutineers must be as vigilant as if they suspected every D. R. O.

SEALING ENVELOPES AND BALLOT BOX.

Conservative scrutineers must on no account permit the D. R. O's to leave the envelopes containing the ballots and the box itself unsealed at the close of the poll. This has been done in a number of instances, notably in the case of Croden, the machine D. R. O. at Polling Sub-division No. 7 in the West Elgin election. Of course, there can be but one object in leaving the envelopes and box unsealed. The law gives the scrutineers the right to write their names across the flap of the envelope when it is sealed; by no means neglect to do this.

BALLOTS FRAUDULENTLY MARKED BY MACHINE.

One of the schemes by which the Liberals have made sure of the votes of bribed men, and one which may be defeated by proper vigilance on the part of Conservative scrutineers, has been the use of ballots marked for the voter outside the polling place. This is done in the following manner:—The voter before entering the polling place is given a ballot already marked for the

eral would take. He is instructed to put the blank ballot which he receives on the D. R. O. in his pocket when he enters the counting room where the ballots are marked, and, instead of it, hand to the D. R. O. the marked ballot which he has. On returning the blank ballot to the officer from whom he obtained it, he is paid the sum promised. The same taken in the Truckville and West Huron cases show that extra ballots were printed and supplied to a person for the purpose of working this kind of trick. That, in the present case, it was done through the connivance of the D. R. O. who gave to a Liberal voter, who was in the plot, two ballots, so that he could take one out of the polling place. Scrutineers should watch the handling of the ballots by the D. R. O. very closely, and then examine as closely as possible the ballots as returned by the voters, so as to detect any attempt at substitution. Be very careful, too, to watch that the D. R. O. does not give out two ballot papers.

STUFFING THE BALLOT-BOX.

One of the favorite tricks of the machine appears to be stuffing the ballot-box. It is not likely that all the methods by which they have succeeded in doing this have been discovered. In the recent bye-election in Montreal, and in the Municipal election in London, the ballot-stuffing was done in a wholesale way, and the exact modus operandi has not been made clear, though that it was done by the D. R. O. or the poll clerk, or by their connivance, is certain. In the polling places in London there were more ballots found in the boxes than there were voters who voted, and the evidence showed that the Montreal operators were no less expert than their London fellow-workers in the cause. To guard as far as possible against the successful operation of this trick, scrutineers should be very careful to make absolutely certain that the box is empty at the opening of the poll; they should watch every movement of the Deputy while he is taking ballots from the voters and placing them in the box, to see that he does not put others in with them; they should look closely at the ballot when returned by the voters, lest another may be folded with it; they should watch the D. R. O. closely when he is opening the box at the close of the poll, to see that he has no opportunity to put extra ballots among the genuine ones, and, at this stage, keep an eye on the Poll Clerk and the Liberal scrutineers. It is strongly recommended that one of the Conservative scrutineers keep a list of voters as they receive their ballots, numbering them consecutively, so that the number opposite the last name will show the actual number of voters who have voted, and, consequently, the number of ballots that ought to be in the box. Insist that the D. R. O. shall count the ballots before examining either the back or face of them, as the Act requires (see Section 112 of the Elections Act), so as to see that the number corresponds with the number of voters.

PRE-ARRANGED SHORTAGE OF BALLOT PAPERS.

In the East Middlesex bye-election, what was undoubtedly a plot to steal the election for the Liberal candidate was only frustrated by the zeal and determination of a Conservative scrutineer. An insufficient number of ballot papers was furnished to the D. R. O.'s in three polling sub-divisions, and when the ballot papers ran short the deputies proposed to use written ballots. The Conservative scrutineers in two of the places consented, and written ballots, made out of writing paper, were used. The Conservative scrutineer at the

third polling place refused, and the poll had to be closed and reopened. Investigation showed that in all three polling subdivisions all Liberal votes were polled before the ballots ran out, so that only Conservative votes were given written ballots. In case of a recount these would have been rejected, and had the third scrutineer consented, there would have been enough to have changed the result. The Act requires the poll clerk to count the ballot papers in his possession in the presence of the scrutineers fifteen minutes before the opening of the poll. (See Section 26A.) It is no neglect to see that this is done.

SPOILING, SWITCHING, AND SUBSTITUTING.

The "spoiling," "slipping" or "switching" and "substituting" of ballots has been reduced to a science by the Liberal machine. Deputy Returning Officers have been regularly schooled and trained in the art. Pritchett alone schooled nine young men, whom the machine had succeeded in getting appointed as deputies in West Huron, the scholars being brought to the school by a Mr. Grant, a Goderich school-teacher. Pritchett was also sent into Brockville and into South Ontario, where he opened schools at Oshawa, Port Perry, Myrtle and Pickering. In his confession, Pritchett tells of the modus operandi, and it may be as well to give it in his own words.

Spoiling Ballots: Pritchett's Affidavit: -

"The method of spoiling ballots, which I was employed to explain, and did explain, to the deputy returning officers in the elections for the Local Legislature, is worked by the deputy himself, and at the time of counting the ballots, after the close of the poll. When the ballots are turned out of the box upon the table, it is usual for the scrutineers to assist the deputy in opening out the ballots and laying them face downwards in a pile upon the table. The deputy takes up one with his left hand, looks at the cross, and holds the ballot paper at one end with the finger and thumb of the left hand and at the other end with the finger and thumb of his right hand. If the ballot is properly marked, and if he does not wish to spoil it, he lays it face downward on the table, and calls out the vote. He proceeds thus with each ballot in succession. But he places ballots spoiled by the voter in a separate pile, also face downwards, until he has so examined all the ballots. So often as a deputy wishes to spoil a ballot, he selects one properly marked on behalf of the other parties, and, while looking at it, and holding it as described with finger and thumb of both hands, he makes a mark or scroll upon it with a bit of lead, secured under the thumb-nail of his right hand. Any mark will answer his purpose, for he himself is to be the judge whether or not it spoils the vote. He places each one thus spoiled by himself with the pile of ballots spoiled by careless voters. At the conclusion of his examination, all the spoiled ballots are exhibited in rotation to the scrutineers, the objections are discussed, and, of course, the deputy decides that the ballots spoiled by him cannot be counted. He can thus take from the other party as many votes as he chooses to spoil. A deputy, with little practice, can spoil a ballot without danger of detection. The danger is, rather, that he may overwork the scheme."

Slipping Ballots: Pritchett's Affidavit:—

"The slipping of a vote in elections for the Legislature, accomplished thus:—When the deputy is calling out the good votes, he does not permit the scrutineers to look at the face of the ballot, but he, as deputy, is alone entitled to examine the ballot, and, if a scrutineer could examine it, he might also discover the number, and so trace the vote; therefore, he decides that he alone can look at the ballot when counted. When calling out the ballot vote to one or other of the candidates, he from time to time calls to his own side a vote really given to the opposite party, and thus changes or slips the vote and refuses permission to check what he may be doing. This does not require an expert, but it does require a little nerve, and the selection of some men as deputies who at need can be daring and clever in their tricks."

Substituting Bogus for Genuine Ballots: Pritchett's Affidavit:—

"The method of substituting a false ballot for the genuine one, which the deputies were to use, is as follows:—He would keep the false ballots so that he could readily take one in his left hand when he wished to work it. When a known Conservative voter would be in the act of handing his ballot to the D. R. O., the latter would place his left hand upon the table with a false ballot, without a counterfoil, under the hand. At the same time, he would accept from the voter with his right hand the genuine ballot and counterfoil. He would then place the genuine ballot under the left hand fingers, as if for the purpose of tearing off the counterfoil, and, with a quick movement of the right hand, he would remove both genuine ballot and counterfoil, at the same moment raising the left hand and leaving on the table a ballot from which the counterfoil had apparently just been removed. He would put what he had in his right hand in his coat pocket and then put in the box the ballot lying upon the table. This ballot so put in the box would be one of those previously furnished by me to the D. R. O., and on which I put a cross opposite the name of the Liberal candidate."

It is evident that only by untiring vigilance on the part of Conservative scrutineers can these tricks be prevented. At No. 4, St. Thomas, the Conservative scrutineer compelled the D. R. O. to remove the piece of lead pencil from under his nail, and by careful watching all the tricks can be prevented, particularly as the Act is now clear, and requires that the D. R. O. must turn the ballots face up while counting, and so that the agents can see for whom they are marked. (See Section 112).

PERSONATION OF VOTERS.

We have information which indicates that the personation of absent voters, and of voters who are known to make a practice of polling their votes at a late hour, is being arranged for in a wholesale way. As we are informed, full descriptions of these absentee and late voters are being collected, and men who resemble, or can make themselves up to resemble them, are to be sent into the riding on polling day to personate them. It will be well to be

on the guard against this scheme, particularly in constituencies containing the United States. To illustrate the lengths to which deputy returning officers, trained by the machine, will go in their efforts to aid and abet personators, the case of Ezra Stubbs, who officiated as D. R. O. at No. 6, St. Thomas, in the West Elgin election, may be mentioned. He refused to issue a warrant for the arrest of a personator, though he knew that the latter being persecuted was dead and had actually himself been present at his funeral a short time previously. It has been found extremely difficult to secure the punishment of personators, owing to the willingness of Liberal magistrates and County Crown Attorneys to connive at their escapes. A case in point was that of a personator who was arrested in West Elgin, and who was released on the bail of two Liberal politicians. The personator decamped, and the County Crown Attorney refused to press for the estreating of the bail. A somewhat similar episode occurred in the South Brant bye-election. The personator was in this case brought into the riding by the private secretary of the Minister of Customs. He was arrested in the Liberal committee rooms, and allowed to go by a Liberal magistrate. But, though it is difficult to obtain justice against election crooks while the machinery of justice is in the hands of corrupt appointees of a corrupt Government, Conservatives should not neglect to involve the law against personators. The dishonest magistrates and County Crown Attorneys can be reckoned with later on.

IMPROPERLY PRINTED BALLOT TRICK

In the election in South Brant ballots were improperly printed, the name of the Conservative candidate appearing within the compartment with the name of the "Independent" candidate. The ballots appeared this way:—

FRAME	
1	George Frame, of the Township of Downie, Farmer.
	MONTEITH X
2	Nelson Monteith, of the Gore of the Township of Downie, Farmer.
MOSCRIP	
3	William Caven Moscrip, of the Town of St. Mary's, Barrister-at-Law.

It will be seen that a voter wishing to vote for Mr. Monteith, the Liberal-Conservative candidate, if he marked his ballot opposite the name of his choice had, perforce, to make his cross within the compartment of Mr. Frame, the "Independent." That the printing of these ballots was not an accident, but a cunningly devised plot, is plain when we remember that in every instance the peculiar ballots were given by the D. R. O. to well-known Conservatives. In this case the despicable trick was successful, and Mr. Monteith

counted out, the seat being given to Mr. Moscrip, the Liberal candidate. It is true that Mr. Moscrip was unseated, on a protest, and Mr. Montague finally won the seat, but this did not right the wrong, nor excuse the inequality of the arrangement between the machine and the deputy returning officers. The obvious lesson for Conservatives to learn is that our voters should be warned not to accept from the D. R. O. a ballot paper which is improperly counted or in any way defective.

THE SOFT PENCIL TRICK.

In the Pamphlet of Instructions to Scrutineers, which has been sent out by the Ontario Liberal-Conservative Association, a caution is given against what may be called the soft pencil trick. This is the placing by the D. R. O. of a soft black lead pencil in the compartment in which voters are to mark their ballots. This pencil makes a soft black cross on the ballot and the D. R. O., when he receives the ballot back, folded, from the voter whom he knows to be a Conservative, presses it between his finger and thumb in such a way as to cause the pencil mark to "offset" and make a second cross, which, if the ballot be folded lengthwise, as it usually is, will be opposite the name of the Liberal candidate. These ballots, when the count is being made, the R. O. rejects as "spoiled." This trick has been frequently practiced, a notable instance being at polling sub-division No. 13, St. Thomas, where no less than 17 ballots were thus manipulated. In this case, the agent of the machine failed to make an accurate double count, for between the close of the poll and the day of the recount before the judge the 17 ballots had other hands made of them. Scrutineers should prevent the successful operation of this trick by seeing that the pencil furnished for the voters, not only at the opening of the poll, but at intervals during the day, for, by prearrangement with the D. R. O., the Liberal voter might at any time substitute a soft black pencil for the one he finds in the booth. Outside scrutineers should warn our friends to be on their guard against this trick. When the ballots are being counted Conservative scrutineers should never neglect to make a diagram of every ballot objected to by either side, whether the objection be sustained by the D. R. O. or not, so as to be able to swear as to the condition of these ballots when they were counted or rejected, as the case may be.

In the foregoing, we have not tried to mention all the cases of wrongdoing which have been disclosed by the election trials, but only to give what may be called specimen cases, so that you may be upon your guard and be prepared to defeat all attempts to steal the election. Undoubtedly, there are among Liberals many who have no sympathy with election wrongdoing. Indeed, it would be pitiful if we could not believe that the great majority of Liberals are just as anxious to purify our politics as Conservatives can be. We would strongly advise that you make a point of inviting the co-operation and assistance of honorable Liberals of your acquaintance in an endeavor to absolutely prevent all improper and corrupt acts at the coming election.

A. W. WRIGHT.

T. W. H. LEAVITT.



